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"HOLLAND'S WELFARE."

BY MARY WILLITS BROWN.

Some years ago I ran across the following paragraph in a little religious paper for the use of children and young people:

"Americans who are travelling through the picturesque little country of Holland, should not fail to visit the Bereenstraat in Amsterdam, for they will find in that street a school which has a curious history. England, Holland and America, all had a hand in the making, so that it may be termed an international affair. A school on Dutch soil whose pupils speak no language but their own, yet conducted by English Quakers from funds derived from an American citizen—surely this is a unique combination!"

"There are many instances in which charity commissioners have had to step in and alter the distribution of funds which had accumulated in consequence of the trust becoming extinct. There is, however, one trust connected with Devonshire House Meeting in London which must be unique, as an illustration of the austerity with which Friends one hundred and more years ago maintained their testimony against all war." (Quoted from a private paper.)

Several years since, just before I was sailing for Holland to attend a Dutch wedding, in Amsterdam, our friend, Joel Cadbury, of Philadelphia, requested me to visit this school, founded with funds that came originally from his ancestor, John Warder. He desired me to bring him some account of this school as it now stands.

In 1781, John Warder, a member of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting, became unwittingly involved in the reprisals carried on between England and America, by means of privateers. He was engaged in business as a merchant, and, in connection with a certain Captain Smith, was owner, in equal proportions, of a vessel called the "Nancy," which set sail from England for New York.

This Captain Smith, without any knowledge or approval on *his* part (as John Warder assured his friends), took out letters of marque, commissioning the "Nancy" to act as privateer toward any vessel of the other contending powers. Holland was included in this, as an ally of America.

It so happened that the "Nancy," carrying 12 guns, and the "Eleanora," carrying 18 guns, encountered a Dutch East Indiaman on its homeward voyage to Amsterdam. They attacked and captured her, and, from the nature of her cargo, she proved a rich prize.

On hearing of Captain Smith's action, John Warder, in order to guard himself against any claims that might arise, insured for £2000 with the underwriters at Lloyd's on the supposition that such an amount would cover his share in the captured vessel.

This boat, "The Hollandische Welvaren or Wolvaert," was taken into Limerick to refit, but on her way around to London, encountering a storm, was lost.

John Warder then claimed and received from Lloyd's the amount of insurance, less the premium and expenses, making the exact amount, £1833, 3s., 9d.

With their known testimony against war, the Friends of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting visited John Warder in the matter. He, being in sympathy with Friends on the subject of war, and, as a proof that he wished to act in accordance with Friends' views, placed £2000 of stock in the joint names of himself and two Overseers in *trust,* 10th month, 1782, from which all just claims should be paid as they arose. In this trust deed he stipulated eighteen months, and, if within that time no claims came forward, the investment should become his own. But the Monthly Meeting thought that "no stipulation as to *time* could bar the Christian obligation for restitution" (quotation from the minutes.)

Two years and a quarter having elapsed and no claimants appearing, John Warder requested the Overseers to transfer the stock into his own name, which was accordingly done. Soon after this John Warder sailed for America, landing in Philadel-

phia, and was gone four years, though without the certificate of membership for which he had applied.

In 1790, he was visited again by Friends in London, but he sailed for America a second time without a settlement, and in 1792 the London Monthly Meeting made a statement and requested Philadelphia Monthly Meeting to visit John Warder on their behalf.

In 3d month, 1793, a reply was received. The report states that John Warder (while considering that everything needful had been done by him) is willing to set apart a sum of money for such claims as may arise. And a letter from the committee in Philadelphia enters more fully into the case "expressing a hope that John Warder may be considered to have complied with the wishes of the Meeting *nearly enough* and that the Meeting may feel disposed to appoint a few Friends to unite with one who may be appointed by John Warder, in making a strict inquiry after the owners of the prize, so that thereby he may be enabled to get clear of his entanglement to his own peace and the honor of righteousness, having observed a commendable disposition in him and his family in their attendance at Meetings and in other respects." This compromise seemed only just and there was evidence that the arrangement would be carried out, but unfortunately John Warder's affairs becoming embarrassed, he was unable to put this into execution until 1799, when he transferred the whole amount of £1833, 3s., 9d. to three Friends of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting in perpetual trust, stating "that, if, after diligent search, such owners cannot be found the Monthly Meeting shall dispose of such amount, in such a way as they shall think most consistent with their principles of justice and equity." The case of John Warder was now dismissed and a certificate of Christian Fellowship forwarded to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Northern District in 1800, as he had taken up his residence in that city.

The Devonshire House Monthly Meeting had no easy task in seeking those who might have suffered loss, and for 12 years very little was done, war interrupting communication with the continent, but in 1812 a committee of six Friends was appointed for six years "to take such measures as may seem suitable."

At length, as a result of extensive advertising in Dutch newspapers and by means of an old ledger which they found, certain claimants appeared.

The committee reported from year to year and the Monthly Meeting continued to order payments until 1818, when no further claimants appearing, the committee was discharged.

At this time, by good investments and from accumulating dividends, the original sum had increased to more than seven thousand pounds so that after paying out £3345 to claimants, there was left a balance in cash and stock of more than the original amount. It was therefore clear, that, whilst great delay had occurred in the disposal of the fund, there had been no waste in the principal.

The question arising before Friends to decide was: "What shall be done with the money?" The Monthly Meeting allowed a year to elapse and then recorded its judgment in the following minute:

"This meeting has solidly and fully deliberated on the subject of the Trust property remaining in the hands of Trustees connected with the case of John Warder and having read and considered the Trust deed, is of the judgment that the application of the remaining accumulated sum is completely vested in the disposal of the Meeting according to its judgment of the principles of justice and equity." A committee was then appointed to take up the matter of the appropriation of this balance, but for some years nothing occurred in their reports to the Monthly Meeting excepting that more stock was purchased with dividends. At length, in 1824, a definite proposal came before the Meeting, and the problem was solved by a visiting Dutch Friend.

John Stephen Mollett had become greatly interested in an infant school which had recently been started in Spitalfields, one of the most poverty-stricken parts of London.

As there were no free schools in Holland, he suggested that such a school might be established in Amsterdam with great success.

The money had come from the ship "Holland's Welfare"

and they were agreed that for Holland it should be expended, so that the proposal met with favor in the Monthly Meeting, but from one cause or another a delay of over four years occurred before this was put into execution, and in the meantime several special cases of distress in Amsterdam were relieved through J. S. Mollett and an annual distribution of bread was made, at which time the origin of the fund was explained to the people. Stephen Grellet being present on one of these occasions remarked that "no more powerful peace sermon could have been preached than that embodied in these circumstances."[1]

Finally in 1829 a house was taken on the Bereenstraat and a school opened for indigent infant children, modelled on the plan of the London school, J. Stephen Mollett superintending the arrangements. The success was marked, the benefit and example being freely acknowledged by the citizens, for in their list of public schools later, "Holland's Welfare" stood first, while in a letter from J. S. Mollett, just prior to his death, he writes: "This school remains to be a blessing to the city, and though other public schools have now been established, 'Holland's Welfare' obtains a marked preference." After some years the house became so old that it was found necessary to rebuild and English Friends, not wishing so excellent an institution to be closed, as it was a proof of their views against war, subscribed the money and in 1864 the present substantial building was erected at their own expense.

The lower part is of yellow plaster with a full rigged ship over the door and the initials J. W. in three places across the

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[1] Stephen Grellet's account is as follows: "We came to Amsterdam on the 18th [of Seventh month, 1832], and visited the Infant School, supported out of the interest of the residue of the money proceeding from the share of John Warder in the prizes made during the war by a vessel in which he was concerned. They have now upwards of sixty children in that school. The building purchased for the purpose is a convenient one, and the matron, under whose especial care it is placed, appears to act the part of a mother and a Christian towards these young children. Our testimony against war is exalted through this act of justice and benevolence. Many persons come to visit the establishment." Memoirs of Stephen Grellet, B. Seebohm. London, 1860, Vol. II, 250, 251.—[EDITOR.]

front. Under the window is painted "Bewaarschool Amsterdams Welvaren."

A large wooden tablet, inserted in the wall of the main entrance, recounts the circumstances leading to the founding of the school in both English and Dutch.

Children of poor parents are admitted, between the ages of 3 and 6 years, though some of these seemed to be somewhat older. As order and cleanliness are cardinal principles "the children must be taken to and from the school by a member of the family, and they must be neat, tidy and plainly dressed. Sweets are not allowed."

At the two daily sessions the elementary branches are taught, short poems, suited to their age and capacity, are committed to memory and lessons in singing given. The school opens and closes with singing and prayer and a daily reading of the Bible.

A committee of four ladies superintends the management with a school mistress and three assistants. In the summer a vacation of three weeks is given and one at Whitsuntide.

To quote from a granddaughter of John Warder: "A lively scene is presented in the morning with the arrival of the rosy-cheeked children, all eyes catching sight of a clock dial pointing to the school hour with the inscription 'Let op den Tyd,' meaning 'Be Punctual.' Gathering in two rooms the young voices are heard in the opening hymn, and later their arms and hands can be seen swinging and whirling in circles to imitate the windmill, so familiar a sight in Holland.

"On the wall in the upper floor were pictures of William Allen, Samuel Gurney, Elizabeth Fry and J. S. Mollett. In the little library (shown me with much pride by the principal, Miss Otten), were 'Sewel's History of the Quakers,' in Dutch, dated 1717, 'History of Friends in America,' 'Life of Joseph John Gurney' and 'Friends' Memoirs in English' (several volumes), but as most of the leaves were uncut, I judged these books had not been read.

"As I could speak no Dutch and they could speak but little English our conversation was limited, but the children crowded around us when they found we were from America, making up

for lack of speech that was understandable, by a vigorous shake of the hands. They could certainly shake hands in English even if they could not speak it, and my husband's ear trumpet was intensely interesting.

"They recited and sang for us and their bright, friendly faces were a pleasure to see."

J. S. Mollett died in 1851, but for ten years previous to that his son-in-law, Daniel Boisswain, Jr., had become associated in the work and continued his interest for many years after to the satisfaction of Devonshire House Monthly Meeting.

The school's influence has been exerted not only over the thousands of children who have been in attendance, but it has been a model for other infant schools throughout Holland.

"Holland's Welfare!" It is a fitting name for a school where the children of the poor find instruction, warmth and shelter; where they are taught to love God and their country.

The John Warder School is still doing its good work and we trust will be a blessing to generations yet to come.

Germantown, Philadelphia.

NOTE ON JOHN WARDER.

Through the kindness and courtesy of a descendant of John Warder, the editor is able to give the following information concerning John Warder:

John Warder was the son of Jeremiah and Mary Head Warder, and was born in Philadelphia the 5th of Fifth month, 1751, at the southeast corner of Market Street and Letitia Place (now Letitia Street). He was the eleventh in a family of twelve children. He went to England in 1776. Family tradition has it that he was not in sympathy with the American Revolution, and that no doubt was the cause of his removal. He established himself in business in London, and in 1779 married Ann Head, of Ipswich. No doubt his certificate of removal went to London at the time of his removal there.

John Warder made several trips to this country in connection with his business, but in 1795 he settled permanently in Philadelphia, and in connection with his sons, established an importing house at the southwest corner of Delaware Avenue and Race Street.

He died Fifth month 7th, 1828, at the age of seventy-seven, and was buried in the Friends' Western Burial Ground at Sixteenth and Race Streets. It is recorded that on his death-bed he enjoined upon his sons not to withdraw the prize-money from the English trustees for their own use.

John and Ann Warder had ten children, and their descendants are numerous, many of whom are well known to a number of the readers of the BULLETIN. Among John Warder's grandchildren are our Philadelphia Friends, John W. and Joel Cadbury, and in the next generation Richard T. Cadbury, Dr. William W. Cadbury, and Henry J. Cadbury of Haverford College.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF JOHN DICKINSON.[1]

In answer to the letter alluded to, I soon received one from him [John Dickinson], a part whereof I here insert for thine and thy companions perusal, as it shows some of his sentiments.

" Happiness is not the growth of any particular spot of the Earth, like the Sun it would enlighten & revive every climate, if the passions & affections of mankind, inordinately excited, those mental fogs, did not so frequently & extensively intercept the pure rays of uncreated Light, perpetually flowing from their Eternal & inexhaustible Fountain. When, when shall we frail Mortals grow wiser & better! How slow, how reluctant are our steps, when Truth & humanity in clear & gentle accents call us out from

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[1] The above note is part of a postscript to a letter written by James Bringhurst from Tiverton, Rhode Island, to Elizabeth Coggeshall, then visiting in England. The letter itself was printed in the BULLETIN, Vol. 5, p. 60. The date is, Tiverton, Rhode Island 8th of 10th mo 1799. For this extract the BULLETIN is indebted to M. Ethel Crawshaw. of London.

the ways of supposed interest! Fatal error! As if any thing could be for our interest, that is displeasing in the sight of the infinitely Holy Being, who bestow'd upon us our Existence & all the faculties combined with it.

"What a remarkable instance of Intellectual darkness is mentioned in thy letter, a Person of large understanding & many good qualities holding numbers of his fellow man, at this time in severe Bondage. I fear that thy opinion is too favorable to me, in imagining that any efforts of mine could be of use on that occasion. I know by experience the horrid infatuation: almost miraculously I escaped out of the thick clay & the lurid atmosphere, & was in that instance favor'd to turn my back on the Tents of Abomination. May men more & more perceive the blessings of mercifulness, etc." JOHN DICKINSON.

A REMONSTRANCE FROM BURLINGTON QUARTERLY MEETING, 1732, WITH REMARKS THEREON.[1]

ffrom our Quarterly Meeting held at Burlington the 28th of ye 6 month 1732

To our Yearly Meeting to be held at Burlington in the 7th month [9th month New Style] next—

The ffriends appointed by our sd Quartl. Meeting as Representatives to attend ye servis of ye Yearly Meeting are as vnder: Danll Smith, Ebinezer Large, Johnathn Wright, John Redman, Caleb Raper, Nathanl Cripps, Edward Barton, Isaac Hornor, Wm Morris, Wm Murfi, Abrm. ffarington, Richard ffrench, John Sykes, Gervas Pharo, Mordica Andrews, Junr—

The Reports ffrom our Severall Month: Meetings Concerning the State amounts to this, that in the generall ffriends are in love & vnity and first day and Week Day Meetings pretty well kept vp and attended and a Care and a Concern is on the Minds

[1] From original in Library of Haverford College.

of honest harted ffriends to keep vp and Maintaine the discipline of ye Church and to putt ye same in practice as they see occation for it.

According to Last Years agreement our Quoto of Collection is Lodged in ye hands of Dan[ll] Smith, & Caleb Raper for the Servis of ye Yearly Meeting as vsuall.

But had not had any Epistle from London this year This Meeting has it vnder their Care & Notice the Removing marks of distinction on gravestones oute of their Burying grounds but meets with sum difficulty in that affaire.

This Meeting not being ffully sattisfyed with Last years answer to our Request of advise about Marriages in nearness of kindred in affinity, desires it may Com vnder Sollid Consideration againe and to haue a more direct and particuler answer in that affare, and hopes the Meeting will Exkuse vs herein by Reason we haue of Late ben Exercised with sundry marriages of this kindes as one man marrying two sisters & by persons professing truth.

This Meeting being dissattisfyed Concerning the former Minut of the Yearly Meeting Relating to young Ministers being debarred from ye Meeting of Ministers & Elders, withoute the Month. Meetings approbation & Recommendation, therefore desires the said Minuit may be Rased out, and that wee fall into the same practice in that affaire as our ffriends in Vrope.

Exam[d]: & Signed on Behalfe of sd Meeting

pr Richard Smith

Clerk

Remarks on a Remonstrance from Burlington Quarterly Meeting, 1732.

The document printed above is unusually interesting as it mentions some of the matters which gave rise to considerable discussion among Friends during a large part of the eighteenth century.

It should be remembered that at the time the report was written there was no printed Discipline, or, indeed, any complete

Discipline as now understood. Manuscript "Advices" from the Yearly Meetings took the place of the more modern codes, and as a result modifications were more frequent.[1]

The removing of grave-stones, which caused much heart-burning, was part of the effort, which lasted many years, to suppress display and outward show as belonging to what was afterward termed "creaturely activity." There was very much of good in the movement, though there can now be no doubt that it was pushed to extremes. It tended to lay too much stress on the external, a fact which injured true spirituality, and its severity alienated and drove out many who would have been most valuable members of the Society.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1706 adopted a Minute which reads: "This Meeting do give it as their sense and judgment that it is altogether wrong, and of evil tendency for to have any grave-stones or any other sort of monument over or about the graves in any of Friends' Burying Grounds, and further that those monuments that are already in the Burying Grounds, either of wood or stone, shall be taken away, and no new put up, but to be as sparing as Friends well can for those who were not Friends and put up before the Burying Ground was solely confirmed to Friends." This Minute was repeated in 1707 with the addition, "and if any particular Friend or Friends oppose it, he or she should be dealt with as disorderly persons."

Another Minute was passed in 1729. This long Minute "advises and cautions" against the "vanity and superstition of erecting monuments and entombing the dead, with singular notes or marks of distinction," and says that "some professing with us have set up tomb or gravestones in some Burying Grounds." The advice of 1706 is repeated, and Monthly Meetings are directed to deal with such as refuse to remove the stones. The same advice was repeated every year until 1735, inclusive, and how much longer the writer does not know. It is evident that there was a strong minority against this judgment, for the Minute

[1] Disciplines in the modern sense began to be formed about 1759, but they were not printed. Disciplines were printed in the following order: London, 1783; New England, 1785; Philadelphia, 1797.

of 1732 states, "though this Meeting is not willing to proceed so far at present as to direct the denying [that is, to disown] of those who so oppose (in hopes that further dealing and patient waiting may answer the end, without that severity) yet it is the sense of this Meeting that such persons had need be cautioned, and strictly examine themselves what spirit it is in them that thus stands in opposition to the minds of the generality of Friends both in Great Britain and these Provinces."

After many years the prohibition became effective, and the Burying Grounds of Friends were places where only the "heaving turf" indicated the character of the enclosure. This movement and its success had two effects which perhaps were not fully realized during the period of compulsion. First, those who felt the restriction most no longer made use of the Society's grounds. Secondly, and later, in certain places, individual Friends united and formed associations to own burying grounds which would be free of Meeting restrictions. In such grounds, while simplicity and inexpensiveness were required, small or low stones were allowed to mark the resting-places of the dead. Had the restrictions adopted by these private owners been adopted by the Meetings in the first instance, it would have been far better for the Society.

The reference to "Marriages in nearness of kindred in affinity" needs some explanation. Friends from the very first raised the covenant of marriage to a very high plane. But this side of the matter need not be dwelt upon now. Here the question relates to the marriage of relatives, and in this report to the marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and with connections as the result of marriage. London Yearly Meeting in 1675 prohibited the marriage of first cousins, and while the same rule held among American Friends, the records show that it was frequently violated. English Friends in 1709 prohibited the marriage of second cousins, but the reiteration of this rule in 1747, 1749, 1801, and 1833 indicates that it must have been not unfrequently violated. In 1883, in spite of some strong opposition, the restriction against the marriage of first cousins (and consequently of second cousins) was removed, though such marriages were

strongly discouraged. In 1906 London Yearly Meeting adopted a Minute allowing any marriage which the law sanctioned, and that is the rule which governs at present. In America the marriage of first cousins has always been discouraged by Friends, and for many years forbidden by some, if not all, the Yearly Meetings. In most Yearly Meetings, by such a marriage membership in the Society was thereby relinquished, though it was customary to issue a "Testimony of Disownment" so as to make a record of the fact on the Society's books. As most Meetings would receive such delinquents back again if proper acknowledgments were made, such marriages did take place. Indeed, so often were such acknowledgments made and received, that special "advices" were issued advising Friends to be careful not to receive acknowledgments too readily.

The Discipline of the Five Years Meeting states that "parties who are to marry must carefully observe the laws of their State." This is practically the same as the English rule.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting followed the practice of London and the American Yearly Meetings, and the last revision (1910) simply retains the prohibition of the marriage of first cousins.

The marriage with a deceased wife's sister was generally forbidden among American Friends, and extended to a deceased wife's half sister. This restriction gradually fell into disuse, and now such marriages are generally allowed.[2]

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[2] By State law the marriage of first cousins is now (1916) prohibited in Pennsylvania (since 1902), and also in Arizona, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, South Dakota, Washington, Wyoming, and in Alaska. The marriage with a deceased wife's sister has probably always been allowed in America, except, as mentioned above, among Friends. This kind of marriage (and also with a deceased husband's brother) was long forbidden (except for a short period) in England through the influence of the Established Church and the House of Lords. It was legalized in 1907, but by one of those curious inconsistencies, which are not infrequent in English polity, the restriction was not removed as to a deceased husband's brother. So that now, while a *man* may marry his deceased wife's sister, a *woman* may *not* marry her deceased husband's brother!

The clause regarding "young Ministers" is not very clear. It appears from the records that it was not an unusual practice for those who "appeared in the Ministry" to be invited to attend the Meeting of Ministers and Elders before they had been officially "recommended" or recorded as Ministers. It was this practice which led to the "advice" from Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (1730) which was not acceptable to the Friends of Burlington and Bucks Quarterly Meeting as mentioned in the report before us. Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1732 referred this very report to a committee of fourteen Friends who were "desired to bring their sense thereof to the next Yearly Meeting." The committee reported in 1733, "that it might become generally satisfactory and equally useful to have it expressed, without the permission of the Monthly Meeting to which said young Ministers belong first had, and signified to the Meetings of Ministers and Elders by one of the Elders, or other weighty Friend belonging to said Monthly Meeting, which report was approved by this Meeting." This decision was again before the Meeting in 1734, and again approved.

In Philadelphia the Meeting is still restricted to actual Ministers and Elders, but in London, Dublin, and in the Meetings composing the Five Years Meeting, the addition of Overseers, making a "Meeting on Ministry and Oversight," has so enlarged the number of members, and also the scope of the Meeting, that admission of other interested Friends is not uncommon.

SOME ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY TO THE CHEROKEES IN 1839-1840; BEING EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF DAVID E. KNOWLES.

Part II.

3rd month 25, 1840, Fourth day.—Attended Richland Preparative Meeting [Ohio]. The business of the Meeting was done by men and women, each in their side of the house, with no partition between, neither had they one comfortable seat, being benches with no backs, yet a Meeting of rich Friends—at least

some of them. Then returned to James Smith's [at Miami], having travelled 150 miles and attended eight Meetings.

[At Miami a Friend "had a prospect of going to the Indians" with our Friend, but gave it up. At Miami Quarterly Meeting the matter of this journey was brought up and was given "solid consideration," with the result of the appointment of a large committee "to render such assistance as they should think necessary on behalf of the Meeting." By 5th month 16th the Friend "who had given up the prospect" of accompanying the Knowleses felt best satisfied to change his mind again and received a certificate from Miami Monthly Meeting. His name was Simon F. Harvey.

At length on the 30th of 5th month the party of three started from Cincinnati by steamboat for Fort Smith, Arkansas. After being delayed several hours to repair the paddles of one of the wheels broken by striking a floating log, the travellers reached Louisville, Kentucky, 138 miles, on the first of 6th month. Here flour, bacon, and whiskey, and slaves bound for New Orleans, were taken on board, and after a halt of two days the boat started again. The rest of the trip was marked by storms, running upon snags, and other incidents not unusual on such river trips. On 6th month 10th they reached Little Rock, Arkansas. The next day the boat started again but about thirty miles above Little Rock the boat struck on a sand bank. After some difficulty the Captain succeeded in backing off his boat, and concluded to remain all night. The next day, finding the water was falling and hearing that the river was scarcely passable for his boat above, he determined, much to the sorrow of our Friends, to return to Little Rock. The journalist, however, writes, "Yet our disappointment was a little eased by recollecting that near one hundred barrels of whiskey was stayed from the Indians, at least for a while." He goes on]

6th month 11th.—We reached town [Little Rock] at about nine this morning and soon found a boat was to start up the river at about three o'clock. Our Captain paid our passage to Vanburen, ten miles below Fort Smith; the passage was sixty-five dollars. This seemed hard for only two hundred miles. On re-

considering this step we thought best to withdraw, which we informed the clerk of the boat of. He then went and saw the other Captain; he gave up the money, and we stayed at our old home [on the boat] this night, being best satisfied with the thought of going by land, trying as it was, not being satisfied to turn back.

[Before leaving the boat which had been their home for two weeks, our Friends tried to gain permission for "a meeting in the cabin with as many of the crew as could attend and such of the passengers as had a mind to." The matter was postponed by the Captain till morning, and then the excuse was given that there was not time. The travellers now made use of their horses and carriage which had accompanied them on the boat from Cincinnati. This was their only means of conveyance, except when crossing ferries, until their return home to Vermont.]

6th month, 13th, Seventh day.—We crossed the ferry from Little Rock on to the north side of the river, and feeling our trust to be in Him who careth for the sparrows we proceeded into the woods. . . . We passed through valleys and over rocky mountains eighteen miles and saw few inhabitants, the last twelve miles being without a house. . . .

14th, First day.—We travelled twenty-four miles and stopped at Samuel Plummer's for the night. He said he knew us to be Friends as soon as he saw the woman. He came from Washington City and had attended Friends' Meetings many a time. He and wife were very kind and we spent the night very agreeably, they seemed almost like relations in this distant land. . . .

19th, Sixth day.—Reached the town of Vanburen before noon, took dinner. At this town we called on ———— Pascal. His wife is the daughter of the celebrated Cherokee Indian Chief John Ridge. We informed him of our wish to visit the station and our object therein and wished him to give us such information as would be useful to us as far as he could, which he did very freely and wished a blessing on our labors. We felt his kindnesses. He is a great man with the Indians, one party of them, and a lawyer of note. We left him feeling we had many causes for thankfulness, the way having been made so much easier than we had expected by land so far (165 miles). We left Vanburen

about 3 o'clock P. M. and passed over some points of the Ozark Mountains, about six miles and staid at Farrington.

20th, Seventh day.—This morning entered the Cherokee Nation. Soon saw some of them at their own homes, but could not talk with them, so passed on to one Winter's 18 miles and fed, not finding corn before. Then ten miles to Dwight Mission (Presbyterian).

21st, First day.—We thought it right to attend Meeting with them. The minister not being at home one Hitchcock officiated. Instead of preaching read an old sermon. Their round of ceremony was rapid. We attended their Sabbath School, an interesting company. Their common school for several years past has been about sixty scholars boarded and taught gratis. . . .

23rd, Third day.—Feeling drawings to have a meeting in this neighborhood, our minds were much bruised [?]. Silent waiting on God had little place amongst them as appeared, though their preacher said some of the most satisfactory seasons he had in meetings was when he would have a little time for silent meditation. After considerable deliberation among ourselves I proposed to Septs. Washburs, their pastor the appointment of a meeting. It was readily acceded to and the time fixed at three o'clock. We went to meeting. It consisted of about thirty persons mostly of the school. We sat some time silent, my wife then was drawn forth in lively supplication; silence again prevailed some time; feeling the importance of inward and spiritual worship, and also the arisings of life—I stood up and was favored to proceed a little time, when, through fear that I should multiply words without sufficient knowledge, I sat down. My wife soon stood up a little time with a lively testimony. We then sat silent some time. I then thought it right to revive Solomon's words, " There is a time to speak and a time to keep silence. When the Lord opens none can or may shut, and when the Lord shutteth none can open. I have no doubt but this may appear singular to some of you, at least, to see people thus met together for to worship God and sit thus silent, but how doth this agree with the declaration of the Almighty by the Prophet, " Keep silence before me Oh Islands and let the people renew their strength, let

them draw near, then let them speak;" let us come near together to judgment, with more [words] on true and spiritual worship, and so forth.

6th month 24, Fourth day.—Went to Parkhill, 24 miles, having John Candy, who came from that place the day before as guide. . . . Sixth day went to the house of Young Wolf, a Cherokee, and Methodist preacher. His pleasant countenance and venerable appearance was cheering as he met us at the gate. Their evening service, all in Cherokee, was performd in a most solemn manner, and I have no doubt was in a good measure owned by the Great Master, after which Drusilla knelt with lively thanksgiving and supplication they could all understand. . . .

27th. Seventh day.—Just before breakfast we were called into the room, and all sat down silent. This was altogether unexpected for we supposed they were agoing to attend morning service. We soon found an exercise attending which soon arose into life to offer up thanks for the past and supplicate for preservation for the future. This I endeavored to attend to in simplicity. We then went to the table. After breakfast we got in our carriage, being about half-past five, and rode twenty-four miles to Spring Creek in seven hours. Our friend Wolf was with us, and rode some in our carriage, Simon [Harvey] rode his horse. He expected to meet a large number of Cherokees and hold a Temperance meeting, but now learned it would be on the morrow so we rode three miles to Joseph Vans, Second Chief. He was much rejoiced at the news of general peace in the Nation [the Cherokee Nation], which was ratified in Council the evening before.[1]

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[1] It should be remembered that in 1838 the Cherokees, whose home was in Georgia, were forced to make a treaty with the United States disposing of their lands in Georgia, and agreeing to move beyond the Mississippi River. Refusing to do this, they were forced to march at the point of the bayonet by United States soldiers. On this march, about 4,000, nearly one-fourth of the number, perished. The details are too many to enter into here, but the story is humiliating to truly patriotic Americans. The Cherokees claimed that under the old treaty they were recognized as an independent nation, which was true. On the other hand, a separate sovereignty within the United States was an impossible

We rode to the place of meeting, about three miles mostly through the woods without a road, a new loghouse without floor, with split logs for seats and a sort of pulpit. Their service was performed with great solemnity, and while John F. Boot, a Cherokee, was preaching my mind was contemplating on the atonement of our Saviour for mankind, and the door of salvation opened through Him, and felt a good degree of life attended. My meditation was a little interrupted by my friend Wolf, at whose side I sat, who turning his head to me said, "he is treating on the sacrifice of Jesus Christ and the means of salvation through Him." Thus was it proved to my satisfaction that I was favored to travel in spirit with him though not a word could be understood. After their meeting was over they held a Temperance meeting. Many of them were interested in it; a lecture was delivered and several names added. After this we were informed that there was an opportunity then for us to offer what we had for the people. After a little time of silence I stood up and informed them in short the object of our visit, that believing it to be our duty to God under the influence of that Spirit that breathes peace on earth and good will to man are we come; and spoke of the satisfaction in meeting thus with them, and more, as seemed to be right, Young Wolf interpreting. My wife was also engaged in supplication and exhortation, of which he gave the substance to the people. An interesting time which tended

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anomaly. The Supreme Court had upheld the Cherokees in regard to their lands, but President Jackson refused to enforce the decree of the Court, saying, it is reported, "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." In Georgia there were two parties among the Cherokees; one, headed by John Ross, averse to the removal; the other, headed by John Ridge, which believed it was wisest to make the best of a bad business, and accept the Treaty. These factions were continued after reaching the new home, when a third was added which was composed of those Cherokees who had gone out some time earlier. This faction was known as the "Old Settlers." The peace referred to the Journal was not permanent. Factions continued to trouble the Cherokees for twenty-five or thirty years. It was doubtless the knowledge of the sufferings of the Cherokees in Georgia and on their westward march, which consciously or unconsciously, led David E. Knowles to make his visit.—[Editor.]

to much satisfaction both to us and them, as some of them expressed their satisfaction and unity publicly at that time. Most of them took leave of us by shaking hands, and so we parted about 9 o'clock having been six hours at this meeting-house. We rode two miles to ————, and took some refreshment. He said he was glad we had been at his house though a little time. We then rode to Judge Martin's, eight miles. This is near the great salt spring and near the Neosho or Grand River. Young Wolf and J. F. Boot were our guides.

29th, Second day.—Rested, except going near a mile to see the salt spring. It is a curiosity in nature. We stopped at John Rogers, another great man amongst them.

Third day.—Returned to Young Wolf's, 34 miles. Fourth day to Park Hill Mission again. . . .

7th month 8th, Fourth day.—We left the Mission after noon and rode a little way to the house of William Williams. He was raised among Friends until sixteen years old, then left his master to whom he was bound and appears to have lived a very prodigal life. The sight of Friends and hearing from some of his near relations brought past scenes to remembrance (when he was young). We had an opportunity with him and family (consisting partly of colored people)[2] of which they seemed glad. We then rode to Jack Ross's. It is also the home of John Ross, Chief. They are brothers-in-law.

5th.—Rainy. We are kindly invited to rest contented, for what we receive from them comes from the heart. Such is the hearty welcome with which we are received in this strange land also called savage.

(*To be continued.*)

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[2] These may have been slaves, as the Cherokees were slaveholders.

JAMES LOGAN TO WILLIAM PENN, 1708.

The following letter from James Logan to William Penn, written in 1708, is from the Howland Collection of Manuscripts belonging to Haverford College. It is not in the "Penn and Logan Correspondence,"[1] or Janney's Life of Penn. This copy is evidently Logan's rough draft, as is shown by the alterations in the text. The original drafts are here given in the form of notes.

The letter was written when William Penn's fortunes were at the lowest ebb, owing to the "villany," as Logan calls it, of Philip Ford and family. Logan never hesitated to use strong words, of which practice this letter is a good example. The Fords and David Lloyd are handled without gloves.

The letter is also interesting as indicating Logan's view regarding defensive war (so called). In this he differed from the majority of his contemporary Friends. Logan's position is elaborately stated in his letter to the Philadelphia Friends in 1771.[2] He never accepted fully the teaching of Friends on war. He held that defensive war was not only justifiable, but that government was founded on force; and that, this being so, force, under certain circumstances, was not only allowable but necessary.

Logan, even when he was writing this letter, was undergoing some of the experiences which he mentions. In 1706 the Pennsylvania Assembly, probably at the instance of David Lloyd, then Speaker, had impeached Logan on a number of charges, but he had not been brought to trial. In November, 1709, Logan, who had taken passage for England on account "of the Proprietor's affairs," petitioned the Assembly for an opportunity to have the matter tried so that it might be settled before he sailed. Instead of granting this request, the Assembly issued an order to

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[1] Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan, etc. Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 2 vols. 1870, 1872.

[2] *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. VI, pp. 402-411.

the Sheriff for his arrest and imprisonment, the purpose being to detain him until the vessel had sailed. This scheme was defeated by the Governor, who issued a writ which allowed Logan to sail. After an absence of two years Logan returned fully acquitted of all charges by Penn, the civil authorities, and by public opinion.

Logan was aristocratic in his views, which somewhat resembled those of the later Federalists. David Lloyd was intensely democratic. The influence of each was beneficial. Logan died in 1751 at the advanced age of eighty-seven, probably the most respected man in Pennsylvania. His fine residence, *Stenton*, built in 1728, still attests his style of living and excellent taste.

Philad^{a} 19th 5mo 1708

Hon^{d} Govern^{r}

At length I have rec'd thine by Ab. Scott & Rich^{d} Townsend who arrived here but 3 dayes agoe from Maryl^{d}. All the Virg^{ia} fleet are come in safe, only Young for this place falling in with the same Privateers who have done so much mischief on our Capes, is taken. All our outward bound vessels have been stopt here for these 3 weeks not daring to venture out, & now sail under Convoy of a small Man of War from N York who comes round on purpose. Tis this gives me another opportunity by Hammerton.

The Acct^{s} I have had of thy Draughts on me could not but give me some uneasiness but the List I have now reced by thine of ye 16th 8mo has removed great part of it. The total I perceive is 1746^{lbs}: 19:—w^{ch} tho' a large sum, yet falling under 2000^{lbs} w^{ch} is still less than I feared I shall struggle hard but by some means or other I'le answer them so as that thou shalt never hear of them again to thy dissatisfaction. Many even of thy fr^{ds} here are of opinion that nothing of that kind ought to be paid, untill we have assurances that the Countrey will be secured from the ffords [Philip Ford and wife], because otherwise the Comm^{ers} are told that they will all be call'd into question for the Sales they have made under thee, but for my part I am too far engaged to look back. I am certainly ruin'd if the Countrey be lost, &

cannot be more so. To be call'd on for 2 thous^{d} or 200 thous^{d} of my own makes no difference at all, & therefore I shall not stop at anything myself if not hindred by others,[3] as tis very probable I shall, if ther be not at least a great probability of thy keeping the Countrey at the time ye Bills are to be p^{d}, but there is this further in it, that in case it prove otherwise, the Bonds I have will be good for nothing, however I have a very great confidence that there is no danger but that some means or other will be found effectually to relieve thee. Yet I cannot think but there was a great Conveniency (not to say Necessity) in writing as I did to the fr^{ds} there in answer to their Lett^{r}, tho I have ever since been jealous I should be taxed for too great plainness. Pray be pleased to furnish me with all the Strength that is possible to obviate thy Enemies Endeavours to obstruct paym^{t}, otherwise I may fail whatever mine be.

The Ship Diligence if she be arrived safe, will supply thee & hope wth 400^{lbs} Sterl. and thy Son with half as much.

E. Shippen has been a long time fully restor'd among fr^{ds}, & therefore since he acts for thee as before may claim ye same regard as formerly.

Tis in vain to propose to fr^{ds} here to deal with D. Ll. [David Lloyd] his party is so strong that it would occasion the greatest confusion among them; I have frequently press'd it as a matter absolutely incumbent on them unless they would make themselves partners in his Villany, but tho' many would most gladly see it done, yet they dare not adventure on it twould splitt them, they say, to pieces. As for thy resigning all into the Queen's hands, if they fail to doe it, I think (as I have repeatedly wrote) that most of thy fr^{ds} here who have any thought about them are agreed that it is the most adviseable step thou canst take, especially if some tolerable terms can be made, and any thing can be gott for it. Ths last business of the Privateers upon our Coasts infesting us above others, because unarm'd, has brought friends to a pretty general Confession that a due administration of

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[3] The last six words have been substituted for the following which have been stricken out: "In my power to serve thee."

Governm^{t} (especially in a time of war) under an English Constitution, is irreconcileable with our Principles.

I am sorry any Packet of mine should cost 17s 5d but I could not direct it to ———— Lewis (whose first name I know not) because I never that I can remember heard of him before, first I directed to J. Ellis, but he falling into disgrace, I was ordered to J. Parker at S^{r} Cha. Hodges office, who being out himself, I desired to know whether Parker stood. for the future I shall send to Lewis when I have Pacquets, but cannot handsomly begin with a single Lett^{r}, as this is, I doubt.

The Inclosed will shew that Rakestrain has at last mett with his deserts in part.

I shall send an Authentick Copy with ye Minutes of ye meeting sign'd, but cannot now. I have had some trouble wth him but I wish I had as fair a hearing with all our Enemies, for they are much alike.

Of the lotts by Hugh Desborrow there is one laid out to Tho: Callowhill, the rest were disposed of to Purchasers by thy own Ord^{r} when here.

I know not what P. ff. [Philip Ford] may doe by his Letters but neither his Service nor the contrary is of moment here. Yet I have always kept very fair with him.

The last expression of thy Lett^{r} desires me to be easy to all in general, & also Just to all not leaving thee out of that direction. I am sensible that no man can be more obnoxious to censure & misrepresentations than myself, and yet I know the value of a good Reputation, but my Engagem^{ts} are too binding on me to dispense with any essential part of my Duty for ye sake of popular Air. a good Conscience have long resolved should be my only Dependance without much regard to the Sentim^{ts} or discourse of [4] others w^{ch} not being in my power I must quitt the thoughts of them further than as they depend on the other, & yet I have an intire Cofidence that one day they will unite (I mean

[4] Following the words, "discourse of," these succeeding words have been stricken through: "Any sort of people whatsoever, not that I would slight these were they in my Power, but as I am circumstanced and resolved in myself, they depend on the other, and yet one day."

a good Confidence & Reputation) tho' not suddenly with me.[5] Yet after all I find it a little irksome, when I stand so much exposed for thy sake, to fall under suspicion even with thee. But the same fortress will support me in this also, and all I shall desire is that my Justice may be tried. I hope now thou wilt not trust any man after so villanous an Abuse from fford, & for my own part I never thought it was for mine or any honest man's advantage to be trusted further than necessity obliged, for when all men see for themselves none can be uneasy. I know there are some particulars in w^{ch} I could have wrong'd thee, because an Error could not easily have been discovered by the sharpest eye, but I had the Character of honest before that of Secry [Secretary] & hope its lustre will not be found tarnished after ye other's gone. I have enlarged this because within these 2 years I have had divers hints to the same purpose for w^{ch} I'm persuaded I never gave occasion. I am ye same as ever & without disguise.

Thy faithful & obed^{nt} serv^{t}

J. L.

[James Logan]

An Acknowledgment by James Logan.

In connection with the preceding letter of James Logan, the following acknowledgment by him of error, taken from the Minutes of Burlington Quarterly Meeting, will be interesting. It will be noticed that this statement is very carefully drawn up and avoids an expression of his individual views. Indeed, he practically takes technical ground rather than that of personal conviction.

"At ye Quarterly Meeting of Friends held at the house of Wm Beedle ye 22d day of ye 12 mo 1702 . . .

This day a paper of Acknowledgment signed by James Logan was read in this Meeting & was thought convenient to be recorded here."

[5] Following the words, "with me," these succeeding words are stricken through: "I know a Man here, who is preferr'd far above me, that speaks all in Oil to all mankind, yet will serve no mortal willingly but himself. This I know is perfectly prudent, but I have never yet studied the Art."

"To Friends of the monthly M'g met at Philadelphia this 25th day of ye 10th mo 1702.

Whereas upon a provocation given by Daniel Cooper of west Jersey, injuriously (as was judged) to our proprietary's right & Contrary to authority invading in the 5th mo last one of the reed Islands of delaware, over against this City, I undertook to goe over to ye said Island to divert him from proceeding in his design accompanied with the Sheriff of Philadelphia who hearing of an opposition designed, took with him some other persons with fire arms for ye greater awe of such as should attempt to oppose. And whereas ocasion hath been or may be taken from the said arms being caried in any company to reflect not only upon mee as Concerned for the Proprietary, but also upon the proffession of God's truth owned by and amongst us, I do therefore in a true sense of the inconveniences that have naturally ensued from the said action and its Contrariety to the said proffession heartily regret my Complying with or being in anywise Concerned in that method which ministers such ocasion & do in sincerity declare that could I have foreseen the ill Consequences of it I should by no means have engaged in it.

Hoping & earnestly desiring that it may please God, the author of all good councill and direction, so to enlighten my understanding by his spirit that I may avoid not only all such ocasions but all others that by being contrary to his divine will may minister offence for the future. JAMES LOGAN.

VOLTAIRE AND THE QUAKER, CLAUDE GAY.

In *The Friend* (Philadelphia) for Twelfth month 16, 1915, an account of a visit of a Friend, Claude Gay, to Voltaire, then residing near Geneva, Switzerland, is reprinted from "Lake Geneva, and its Landmarks," by Francis Gribble (London, 1901, p. 229). Gribble speaks of Claude Gay as "the Philadelphian Quaker." As I had never heard of a Friend of Philadelphia by that name in the eighteenth century, though tolerably familiar with the names of the prominent Friends of that period, I doubted the truth of the statement. A very little research confirmed my

opinion. Claude Gay was not only not a Philadelphian, but never was in America. His history is an unusual one. He was born in Lyons, France, in or about 1706, and died in Barking, Essex, England, 1786, having been a minister among Friends about forty years.

Brought up a Roman Catholic, he early became dissatisfied with that faith, and left that church. In order to be among Protestants, he removed to the Island of Jersey. While there he met with a copy of Barclay's "Apology," by the reading of which he was convinced of Friends' principles, and then joined the Society. On account of this he suffered some persecution, and having been banished from the island and forbidden to return on pain of being flogged,[1] he went to London where he spent most of his life.

Claude Gay was somewhat of a writer. He translated into French Part first of Penn's "No Cross, No Crown," (1746), "Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers" (1764); selections from "Piety Promoted" (in French and English) (1770); and Mary Brook's "Reasons for the Necessity for Silent Waiting," etc. (in French and English, 1782). He also published "A New and Easy Way of Teaching the French Language" (1773). His English publications were a few tracts and epistles and addresses. In *The Friend* (London) will be found some of his letters (Vol. VI, pp. 17-19, 39-42) and "An Account of a Journey to the Islands of Guernsey, Sark, Alderney, and Jersey, and to High and Low Normandy, and Picardy" [1775-1776] (Vol. V, pp. 141-144).[2]

He left an unpublished Journal, and other papers, which were placed among the archives at Gracechurch St. Meeting-House, and which were destroyed when that house was burned in 1821.

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[1] This sentence was revoked by order of the King.

[2] Towards the expenses of this visit, he writes, "Besides what Friends thought proper to furnish me with, our friend [Dr.] John Fothergill gave me an unlimited letter of credit, which I had no occasion to use, having more than sufficient without it." *The Friend* (London), Vol. 5, p. 141.

The chief source of information concerning him is the short sketch in "Piety Promoted," Part IX, the substance of which will be found in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), Vol. I, pp. 11, 12, where the Voltaire incident is recounted from Simond's "Switzerland," which is evidently the source of Gribble's story.

The full title of Simond's work is, "Switzerland, or a Journal of a Tour and Residence in that Country in 1817, 1818, 1819, etc. By Louis Simond, London, 1822, 2 vols. 8vo." A reprint was issued the same year in Boston, Massachusetts. The French editions (Paris, 1822, 1824) differ somewhat from the English. They were both written by Simond, who, from his long residence in Great Britain was familiar with English. Simond, like Gay, was a native of Lyons. He was born 1767, and died in 1831, at Geneva, Switzerland, where he had acquired citizenship. He was driven from France by the great Revolution, and did not return until after the fall of Napoleon. He was a great traveler, and published, besides his Switzerland, "Travels in France and England" (1810-1811), and "Travels in Italy and Sicily." His works will be found in our older libraries.

From Gay's letters published in *The Friend*, as noted above, it would seem that his visit to Geneva was in 1764.[3] Simond's anecdote, written more than fifty years later, was probably derived from some local source. How Simond came to call Gay "a Quaker from Philadelphia" we cannot tell. Neither the account in Gribble, nor the fuller one in the *Philadelphia Friend* (Vol. I, pp. 11, 12), gives the whole of Simond's story, and so it seems worthy of reproducing here. It might be said that the English and French versions are practically identical. It is as follows:

"A quaker from Philadelphia, called Claude Gay, travelling in Europe, stayed some time in Geneva; he was known as the author of some

[3] It is rather strange that though Gay speaks at some length of his visit at Geneva, no mention is made of Voltaire, especially as he speaks of Rousseau's *Emile or Education*, of which at first he "read a little," and then put aside. But afterwards, he says, "There came upon me a strong feeling to read it all, and I borrowed it at Geneva." He also read *The Social Contract*, of which he remarks, "This resulted in my writing him [Rousseau] a letter." It would be interesting to know what impression Gay's letter made upon Rousseau. See *The Friend*, Vol. VI, p. 39.

theological works,[4] and liked for his good sense, moderation, and simplicity. Voltaire heard of him, his curiosity was excited, and he desired to see him.[5] The quaker felt great reluctance but suffered himself at last to be carried to Ferney,[6] Voltaire having promised beforehand to his friends that he would say nothing that could give offence. At first he was delighted with the tall, straight, handsome quaker, his broad-brimmed hat, and plain drab suit of clothes; the mild and serene expression of his countenance, and the dinner promised to go off very well; yet he soon took notice of the great sobriety of his guest, and made jokes, to which he received grave and modest answers. The patriarchs, and the first inhabitants of the earth, were next alluded to; by and by, he began to sneer at the historical proofs of Revelation; but Claude was not to be driven away from his grounds, and, while examining these proofs and arguing upon them rationally, he overlooked the light attacks of his adversary when not to the point, appeared insensible to his sarcasms and his wit and remained always cool and always serious. Voltaire's vivacity at last turned to downright anger; his eyes flashed fire whenever they met the benign and placid countenance of the quaker, and the dispute went at last so far, that the latter, getting up, said, '*friend Voltaire! perhaps thou mayest come to understand these matters rightly; in the mean time, finding I can do thee no good, I leave thee, and so fare thee well.*' So saying he went away on foot, notwithstanding all entreaties, back to Geneva, leaving the whole company in consternation. Voltaire retired immediately to his own room, where, if the following lines of his own occurred to him, they did not probably contribute to put him in good humor with himself:

"A la religion discrètement fidèle
Soit doux, compatissant sage, indulgent commi elle,
Et sans noyer autrui, cherche à gayner le port;
Qui pardonne à raison et la colère a tort.

"Huber (the father of the celebrated author on Bees) was present at this scene, and made a drawing of it in which the two principal actors are most happily characterized."[7] (Switzerland, etc., by Louis Simond, London, 1822, Vol. I, pp. 555-557; Paris, 2d edition, 1824, Tome I, pp. 634-635.)

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[4] As Claude Gay's work was almost wholly that of a translator, this statement indicates that Simond was not himself acquainted with Gay's work.

[5] Simond says that for a time Voltaire received all who chose to call on him, but that he became so pestered with visitors that he refused to see any one unless previous application had been made, and not always then.

[6] Ferney, now Fernex, four and a half miles northwest of Geneva, just within the French boundary.

[7] Jean Huber (1722-1790) was a Swiss artist residing at Geneva, and Voltaire was one of his favorite subjects.

BOOKS, ETC., RECENTLY ISSUED, AND OF INTEREST TO FRIENDS.

William Penn. Rupert S. Holland. Author of Historic Boyhoods, etc. New York, The Macmillan Co., 1915. 6x5 in., pp. vii, 166, 50 cents.

This volume forms one of a series known as "Stories of Great Americans." The style of the book varies and sometimes an effort to write down to youthful readers is evident. In fact, William Penn is not a subject that can easily be made attractive to immature minds.

The author is sympathetic with his theme, and his general judgment of Penn is just. He recognizes Penn's weak points and does not attempt to minimize them, while on the other hand, he brings out Penn's real greatness and dwells upon it. Several anecdotes are related that do not rest on the firmest foundation, but they are generally qualified by some such phrase as, "the story goes," or "it is reported."

Though undoubtedly desirous to represent the Friends truthfully and accurately, the author makes sundry slips which show that he is not familiar with Quaker principles and practices. The outsider who treats of Quaker views and customs needs to tread warily. The following are some of the slips: "And, now, having publicly declared himself a Quaker, he [Penn] asked permission to be one of their preachers . . . . And when he was twenty-four he was accepted as one of their regular preachers." (p. 29.) This statement is so contrary to the customs of the Friends as to be almost amusing. "He with some companions decided to hold a 'silent meeting' on the sidewalk before the front doors." (p. 38.) The Friends, it is true, met in silence, though they *never* decided *beforehand* to hold a silent meeting. His chapter on the "Early Quakers," kindly as it is, is full of misconceptions and lack of knowledge of the actual facts. It is not often that the early Friends have been credited with being "earnest students of those who are called the fathers of the Church,—the early writers on Christianity, such as Tertullian, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Cyprian, and Origen." (p. 14.) With the exception of Penn, Barclay and, perhaps, half-a-dozen others, the early Friends were guiltless of any knowledge of Patristic literature. The "Primitive Christianity" which they preached was not that of the Fathers, but of the Gospels and Acts.

There are several instances of failure to recognize real conditions existing in Penn's time. The author says, Penn "was a militant character, and when he argued before a public meeting, or wrote a letter that was to be read by his opponents, he never hesitated to express himself as strongly as he knew how." (p. 46.) A natural inference from this statement is, that Penn was remarkable for his strong expressions, whereas he was really milder than many of his Quaker friends, and

much milder than many of his theological contemporaries of other sects, both in their arguing with their Quaker foes and with others from whom they differed. Strength of expression was the fashion of the day. "Then a man named Richard Baxter" (p. 53) is hardly the way to speak of one of England's greatest divines.

There are a few positively wrong inferences and misstatements which should be noticed. "It hardly seems credible that Penn could have actually conspired against the new king and queen, and yet plots were much in the air in those days, and, as we have already seen, the Quaker leader could be rather easily influenced by people of whom he was fond. In any event, he seems at that time to have been treated as an object of suspicion, and at this distant date it cannot be said positively whether he deserved this suspicion or whether he was the unhappy victim of unscrupulous informers." (pp. 114, 115.) It seems strange that our author who has evidently studied Penn's character with sympathetic attention could have written a statement like this, which casts such a doubt upon Penn's integrity. Penn's special weakness was his inability to judge character aright. He was easily moved by his affections, and when he was fond of a person he trusted him and was loath to believe any evil of him. This characteristic often laid him open to suspicion and misjudgment. He believed in King James and trusted him, and naturally Penn was suspected of actively aiding James. That he ever even thought of conspiring against William and Mary there is not a shred of trustworthy evidence to show. Penn, himself, distinctly and personally gave William his allegiance. On page 119, "Luttrell's Diary" is thus quoted under date of "December 5, 1693:" "William Penn, the Quaker, having for some time absconded, and having compromised the matters against him, appears now in public, and on Friday last held forth at the Bull and Mouth in St. Martin's." In the first place, Luttrell is by no means an unimpeachable authority; his diary is full of gossip and town-talk, and while of value as confirmatory evidence, it is to be used with great caution as a chief authority. This fact is well known by those who have had occasion to make use of the Diary in research work. In the second place, though Penn was in retirement, or as he, himself, says, "in hiding," "absconding" is a word which gives a totally wrong idea of the fact. All our definite information goes to show that though in retirement, or "in hiding," Penn never "absconded" in the usual sense of the word, and that he could easily have been found at any time the authorities desired; neither did he make any "compromise" whatever. "His preaching was very successful. Wherever he spoke great crowds gathered to hear the words of a man who had had such a remarkable history, who had been a close friend of King James, and who had been in hiding for some years." (p. 123.) This is rather a curious list of reasons for Penn's gathering

large audiences. It is probable that some *were* moved by curiosity to go to meetings where Penn was likely to speak, but to make notoriety the chief cause is to omit the fact that Penn had long been one of the most prominent and beloved men among the Friends, and also to omit that which drew men above everything else—Penn's spiritual message and power.

The most serious error which our author has made is in regard to Penn's connection with the case of the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford (pp. 104, 105). He seems, in the main, to have followed Macaulay's version of the incident, which John Paget, in "The New Examen" (pp. 297-330), reprinted in his "Paradoxes and Puzzles," has completely refuted, as also William Hepworth Dixon, in his "History of William Penn," and Janney in his "Life." There is no trustworthy evidence that Penn "Afterward changed and advised the College to yield," or that "people began to think that the former champion of religious liberty was no longer a Quaker at heart." The very letter from which Macaulay makes his garbled quotation and upon which he bases his charge, also states, "I thank God he [Penn] did not so much as offer at any proposal by way of accommodation, which was the thing I most dreaded." (Paget, New Examen, p. 325.) This sentence Macaulay does *not* quote.[1]

It is hardly correct to speak of "William Bradford, a printer of Leicester" (p. 71). Bradford was born in Leicester (1663), but was apprenticed to Andrew Sowle, a printer of London, whose name appears on many Friends' books after 1683. William Bradford did come out with Penn in 1682, but returned to England before 1685. He married Elizabeth Sowle, the daughter of his former master, in 1685, and in the same year, returned to Pennsylvania and set up his printing press in Philadelphia. The author gives the impression that Bradford began his printing in 1682.

Despite these, and other minor errors and misconceptions, the book, as a whole, is a good one and does Penn substantial justice.

There are twelve good illustrations, six of them full page half-tones.

A Quaker Diary in the Orient. By William C. Allen. Press of Wrights-Ely Co., San José, California, 1915. 9½x6 ins. [Illustrations from photographs by the author.] Pp. 101. $1.00.

This thin well-printed volume is the diary of a Friend who felt called upon to "visit the Far East."

The party consisted of three, the author, his wife, and his companion, William B. Harvey, an Elder, and the well known super-

[1]The new unaltered edition of Macaulay's History of England has already been noticed in the BULLETIN, vol. vi, p. 29. Macaulay's History of England is a good example of "The evil that men do lives after them."

intendent of Westtown School, all being members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In addition to the strictly religious work of the visit, occasion was taken "to utilize it on behalf of the International Peace Movement." The part of the diary here given covers Japan, Korea, China, and the Philippines. Much, if not all, appeared in the columns of *The Friend* (Philadelphia). The book is simple, unpretentious and interesting as giving a personal view of the Far East, under rather unusual circumstances. Thirty excellent illustrations (3x4) from photographs taken by the author add greatly to the interest of the book.

An American Garland, Being a Collection of Ballads Relating to America, 1653-1759. Edited, with introduction and notes by C. H. Firth, M.A., Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1915. [New York, Longmans, Green & Co.] 8x5½ ins.

This is a collection of street and popular ballads. They have little or no literary merit, but are of value historically. The only ballad of special interest to readers of the BULLETIN is that entitled "The Quakers' Farewell to England, or their voyage to New Jersey, situate on the continent of Virginia and bordering upon New England. To the tune of *The Independents' Voyage to New England.* London. Printed for F. G[rove], 1675." This reprint is taken from a copy of the Broadside, in the British Museum. It is noted in Joseph Smith's "Anti-Quakeriana" (p. 18). The ballad consists of seventeen doggerel stanzas, the character of which may be judged by the following:

"Come, Friends, let's away,
Since our Yea and Nay
In England is now slighted.
To the Indians wee'll goe,
And our Lights to them show,
That they be no longer benighted.

. . . . . .

"To New Jersey, with speed,
Come all Friends that need
Wealth, or large Possessions;
The Indians we'll make
To serve us and Quake
And be slaves to our Professions."

Comparatively few Friends of the present day are aware of the mass of Anti-Quakeriana which appeared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, much of it scurrilous and some quite unprintable. This specimen is a moderate example.

The Peace of Europe. The Fruits of Solitude and Other Writings. By William Penn, London and Toronto, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. [1915]. "Everyman's Library." Pp. XLIV, 292. 7x4½ ins. 1s; 35 cents in America.

The editor of "Everyman's Library" is to be congratulated on bringing out this selection from the writings of William Penn just at this time. The paper which gives the title to the volume, "The Peace of Europe," or in full, "An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe," is one which well may claim the attention of thoughtful men not only in Europe but in America as well. It is perhaps the greatest contribution to World Politics made by any Friend. If only, at the conclusion of the present great war, the statesmen and peoples of the world would follow out the principles laid down by William Penn in these few pages the future history of the world would be very different from the past.

The other papers chosen for republication are "Some Fruits of Solitude;" "Advice to his Children;" "A Tender Visitation;" "A Summons or A Call to Christendom;" "Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers;" "Primitive Christianity Revived;" and "A Description of Pennsylvania, 1683."

So far as a somewhat hasty examination can show, the reprints are accurate. The spelling, capitalization and punctuation have been modernized, as is desirable for the general reader.

The "Introduction" is "The Author's Life By Joseph Besse." It is again praiseworthy that the editor should have chosen this sketch rather than have written a new one; but surely he should have stated that it is an abridgment of the original. It is true that most of the omissions are papers, letters, accounts of trials, etc., etc., which are very well omitted when the life is used as an introduction to a volume for popular use like the present, but surely these omissions should have been mentioned, at least, in a foot-note. The bibliography is full, but there has not been time to verify it. The list of lives, however, is by no means beyond criticism. W. H. Dixon revised his "Life," calling it "The History of William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania," and published it in 1872; Mrs. Colquhoun Grant's "Quaker and Courtier," etc., is full of errors and not worthy of mention; R. J. Burdette's "William Penn" is avowedly a "Comic Life," and, while appreciative to a remarkable degree, is in no sense to be considered as a *"Life."* "The Penns and Penningtons" by Maria Webb should not have been omitted even in a brief list, nor should Samuel M. Janney's Life of Penn.

NOTES AND QUERIES

An Adjourned London Yearly Meeting.—For the first time, we believe, in history an adjourned session of London Yearly Meeting has been held. London Yearly Meeting held in Fifth month, 1915, adjourned with a Minute reading, "We leave the Meeting for Sufferings at liberty to call together the representatives appointed to this Yearly Meeting, should such a course appear necessary. Such meeting, if summoned, is to be considered as an adjournment of this Meeting, and is to be open to all Friends."

In view of the practically certain passage by Parliament of a Military Service Bill, the London Meeting for Sufferings held First month 7th, 1916, decided that an adjourned session of the Yearly Meeting should be held, the date of which should be left to the Yearly Meeting's "Agenda Committee." The dates subsequently fixed upon were First month 28th, 29th, 30th, the latter being First-day. The only subject to be considered was the attitude and action Friends should take in the crisis before them in regard to compulsory military service. The Military Service Act became law First month 27th, 1916, so the issue was directly before Friends. The adjourned Yearly Meeting is said to have been the largest gathering ever known at Devonshire House, every seat on the floor of the large meeting-room, and in the galleries being filled, and the steps and aisles being crowded. A report of the discussions and conclusions will be found in *The Friend* (London) 2d month 4th, 11th, 1916. See also official "Extracts," etc., 1916.

"Our Missions"—The history of this paper is an interesting one. The first magazines issued in connection with Foreign Missions was the *Children's Missionary Gazette,* 8 pp., illustrated, at the price of one penny monthly, beginning First month, 1876. In 1877 the name was changed to *Friend of Missions.* From 1892 to 1894 the paper was in abeyance; but in the latter part of 1894 a monthly was started, known as *Our Missions.* A new series was begun in 1906, the size enlarged to thirty-eight or forty pages, and the publication made quarterly. With the beginning of 1916 a return to a monthly was made. It is the largest and best purely Missionary paper among Friends but, naturally, it is almost wholly devoted to the work of British Friends. The Editors of the paper have been chronologically, Caroline W. Pumphrey, Jane E. Newman, Mary Hodgkin, Dr. Henry T. Hodgkin and Raymond Whitwell, who is the present Editor. It is the organ of the Friends' Foreign Mission Association. The offices are at 15 Devonshire St., Bishopsgate, London, E. C.

PENN'S STATUE ON CITY HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

FRANCES T. RHOADS.

Above the busy throngs that crowd and hustle
Above the din of traffic's noisy call,
Above the jarring thought—the aching muscle,
He stands serene and tall.

Against the storm-cloud black with coming thunder,
Against the heaven's clear blue, or sunset gold,
Above our petty life that pulses under,
Looms up his figure bold.

What would he say, to this, his own "loved" city,
Could a great voice speak from that lofty dome?
Would he feel pride and joy, or only pity,
For his dear "Sylvan" home?

We only know his voice in life was given
To check discord and bid all strife to cease;
Where truth by warring factions would be driven,
He ever spoke for peace.

So that tall form, its lofty tower possessing,
Our strife still stands above,
Its outstretched hand, extended as if blessing
The city of its love.

Public Ledger, Philadelphia, February 3, 1916.

A "DRAFTED" FRIEND IN 1863.—There died at West Falmouth, Massachusetts, 2d month 29th, 1916, Henry D. Swift in his eighty-third year. His was mostly a quiet life, and yet no common one. He was, with his brother, the late D. Wheeler Swift, of Worcester, Massachusetts, a skilful inventor. The modern clothes-wringing machine with its rubber rollers was due to them, and the envelope machine, which cuts, folds, pastes, prints and counts into packs of twenty-five, was also their work. But it is a personal experience with which we have to do.

When Henry D. Swift was thirty, he was residing in South Dedham, Massachusetts. It was the time of the military draft of 1863, and he was drafted. He went to Concord where the drafted men were being mobilized. He was a birthright member of the Society of Friends, and thoroughly believed in their principles—one of which is that it was wrong to take human life. While at Concord, he was ordered to take part in military drills. This he resolutely refused to do, it being contrary to the dictates of his conscience. For this he was put into the guard-house, but he adhered to his determination and refrained from all military activity at Concord, as well as later on, when sent to Long Island, and to Boston Harbor. From here troops were being constantly sent south

to replenish armies in the field. While at Long Island he gladly helped in hospital services, but refused all remuneration for his services. He was "bucked down"* and was finally told by the officers he would be shot for refusal to obey orders. He was taken from the guard-house and made to witness an execution, and was told that that would be his fate if he persisted in his insubordination; but he still remained firm. He was tried by court-martial and sentenced to be shot.

During his stay at Long Island, he was visited by Stephen A. Chase, of Lynn, and Charles R. Tucker, of New Bedford, both prominent members of the Society of Friends. They went to Washington and stated the facts of Henry D. Swift's case to President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton. When the matter was considered by the President he directed that an honorable parole be made out. This was done and delivered to Henry Swift shortly before the time he had been informed his execution was to take place. This was in the fall of 1863. "It is needless to say he was never called upon."—Condensed from Worcester (Mass.), *Gazette,* March 1, 1916.

*NOTE. "The expression 'bucked down' is one used for a certain punishment which was used at that time in the army. The victim is made to sit on the ground with his knees drawn up so that his arms will reach around them; then the hands are tied. A musket is then run over the arms at the elbows and under the knees. In this position a man is fairly helpless and most uncomfortable."

WILLIAM FORREST ESTATE.—This trust is one of the oldest under the care of Philadelphia Friends. It was created under the will of William Forrest, of Philadelphia, who died in 1714. The bequest was for the purpose of aiding in the education of deserving youth of Philadelphia and neighborhood belonging to the Society of Friends. A clear and interesting history of the administration of this trust by Watson W. Dewees, is given in successive numbers of *The Friend* (Philadelphia), from First month 27th to Second month 24th, 1916, both dates inclusive.

ANNUAL MEETING OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA, 1916.

The Twelfth Annual Meeting of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia was held at Twelfth Street Meeting-house, Philadelphia, on the evening of Second month 21, 1916. There were about sixty members present at the business meeting. As the President was absent, Isaac Sharpless presided.

Amelia M. Gummere, the editor of the new edition of John Woolman's Journal and Works, reported that some historical research was being made in Friends' Records in England, and that some new material had been discovered in private hands. and that it was thought wiser to delay publication until this new material was available. She also spoke of the John Woolman Memorial Association, an account of which appeared in the last number of THE BULLETIN. The sum of $2,840 has been contributed for the purchase of the house and grounds at Mount Holly, New Jersey. An effort is being made to restore this to its original form as nearly as possible. Several appropriate gifts for the furnishing of the house have been received, and more are desired. A number of fruit trees have been given for planting. It is estimated that $700 more is required to put the property in good repair. It is planned to provide a tea-room, from which, and the orchard in time, some income, it is hoped, will be derived.

The bronze tablet, bearing the words of the Prayer of William Penn for Philadelphia, of which an account was given in the last number of THE BULLETIN, is still unplaced, owing to the difficulty of finding an appropriate place and design acceptable to the Art Jury of the City Property. Some discussion revealed that in the prevailing opinion the Society was in favor of a location at the City Hall.

The meeting then adjourned to the tea-room where supper was served to a large company.

Caroline Smedley read a brief report of a meeting of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies to which she was a delegate.

Mary Willits Brown read an interesting paper, which will be found elsewhere in this number of the BULLETIN, on the John Warder School in Amsterdam,

Holland. William Warder Bacon and Joel Cadbury, both descendants of John Warder, supplemented the paper with interesting remarks.

Dr. William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, was then introduced, and gave an address on "The Quakers in Holland." He dwelt fully on the sources of information which are scanty, and consist of manuscript records of the meetings, annual epistles, letters of individuals, city archives, and the references to Friends in contemporary controversial pamphlets. Some of the records which were taken to England are believd to have been destroyed when Gracechurch Street Meeting-house was burned in 1821.

The strength of the Friends in Holland was chiefly in a few cities and scattered agricultural districts.

OFFICERS OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.

President, Davis H. Forsythe.
Vice-Presidents, Isaac Sharpless, Amelia M. Gummere.
Secretary, Mary S. Allen.
Treasurer, Mary S. Allen.

Councillors serving 1915-1916:

Caroline W. Smedley,
Bernard G. Waring,
Walter W. Haviland,
Howard E. Yarnall,
Mary Anna Jones,
Susanna W. Lippincott.

Councillors serving 1916-1917:

Hannah P. Morris,
Lucy C. Shelmire,
Alice H. Yarnall,
Walter Brinton,
Francis R. Taylor,
D. Robert Yarnall.